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Military Order —*—
of the
Loyal Legion
of the
—*— United States.

COMMANDERY OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

WAR PAPER 8.

Abraham Lincoln and Edwin M. Stanton.

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WAR PAPERS.

8

Abraham Lincoln and Edwin M. Stanton.

PREPARED BY COMPANION

Brevet Brigadier General

THOMAS M. VINCENT,

U. S. Army,

AND

READ AT THE STATED MEETING OF JANUARY 6, 1892.

1892.



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1862

Abraham Lincoln and Edwin M. Stanton,

1861-1865.

COMMANDER AND COMPANIONS: What I may say on this occasion, I fear, will not prove more than an echo. The remark is applicable to many utterances, when thirty years removed from a time when great men were found necessary to perform a part within a theatre of war, which, in 1861, was opened to the gaze of the world.

Truly are men known by the parts they play—their works—and, therefore, in giving some attention this evening to events connected with Abraham Lincoln and Edwin M. Stanton, it will not be out of place to refer to some of their great labors from 1861 to 1865.

Their labors were not in the field, for, as Commander-in-Chief and War Minister, in the great general struggle, they could not appear in person upon the fields of minor engagements. But they accomplished more than did the minor commanders. Through their efforts battles were made successful, and distinction was made to crown generals and others. Their efforts, by day and by night, gave lustre to the armies of the Union.

Through their inspiration they were present on every field, and organized victory!

George Bancroft, on a most memorable occasion, after referring to the prediction of a West Jersey Quaker, 120 years before, that the consequence of importing slaves would "be grievous to posterity," and the language of Patrick Henry, in 1773, that a serious view of the subject "gives a gloomy prospect to future times," continued by quoting, in connection with

efforts for emancipation and abolition, words of despair from Washington, Jefferson, Madison, and others, and recited how the enslavement of the African resulted in a storm, adding :

“ The storm rose to a whirlwind ; who should allay its wrath ? The most experienced statesman of the country had failed ; there was no hope from those who were great in the flesh ; could relief come from one whose wisdom was like the wisdom of little children ? ”

“ The choice of America fell on a man born west of the Alleghenies, in the cabin of poor people of Hardin county, Kentucky—Abraham Lincoln.”

Yes, fortunately, the choice fell to the man who, in the year 1831, when an obscure flat-boatman, after having witnessed the flogging of a slave-woman, said : “ If ever I get a chance at that institution, I will hit it hard ! ” Years thereafter, upon leaving his neighbors in order to take the oath of office as President of the United States, he added : “ I leave you on an errand of national importance, attended, as you are aware, with some difficulties.” It was not long afterward, at a time when the North did not seem to be ready, when the calmness of the people was so great that it led to discouragement, that he remarked : “ I begin to believe there is no North ! ”

On one occasion, when written to relative to the resources of a man with whom a business firm had some dealings, he replied :

“ I am well acquainted with Mr. Brown, and know his circumstances. First of all, he has a wife and baby ; together they ought to be worth \$50,000 to any man. Secondly, he has an office, in which there is a table worth \$1.50, and three chairs worth, say, \$1. Last of all, there is in one corner a large rat-hole, which will bear looking into.”

That letter, at the anniversary celebration of Lincoln’s eighty-second birth-day, led to the following by the orator of the occasion :

“ At last, when he took the oath, what did he find ? * * * When he came to take the inventory of the National assets, he

found in many a home mothers, children, affections, hopes, not to be counted by dollars. He found in the National Treasury a table worth \$1.50, and three chairs worth \$1 * * * ; and he found on the south side of the National premises a large rat-hole, which, indeed, would bear looking into, for down it had vanished prosperity * * *, and the National existence itself was just disappearing when Abraham Lincoln rescued it, though, strange to say, he was criticised because he grasped it by the hair of its head."

As Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy he was soon confronted with civil war, and recognized the aphorism :

" The sole object of a just war is to make the enemy feel the evils of his injustice, and, by his sufferings, amend his ways ; he must, therefore, be attacked in the most accessible quarter."

But in April, 1861, the Government of the United States was, for the purpose of war, paralyzed. It had not, practically, an army to maintain its authority, and was far from being able to attack the "accessible quarter" of an internal enemy, in conspiracy over an area of 733,144 square miles, connected with a shore line of 25,144 miles, a coast line of 3,523 miles, and an interior boundary of 7,031 miles. This was the most important of the considerable difficulties, or obstacles.

Had the people of the United States, through Congress, been more thoughtful concerning the object of, and necessity for, the military arm, paralysis would have been avoided through the availability of a suitable force to crush the initial movement of the rebellion, and the State, in combat with its own children, would have been spared a great sacrifice of human life—including that of the Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy.

The magnitude attained by the rebellion is most instructive, for the public debt and money paid to pensioners—\$3,963,159,-751.15—would support our present military establishment, costing, say, \$30,000,000 yearly, for one hundred and thirty-two years. Now, however, as the result of temporary expedients, coupled with shameful neglect, the people have to pay the

debt, expend millions for pensions, and support an army costing yearly \$30,000,000. That is to say, we have lost by not having an available force to prevent rebellion \$3,963,159,- 751.15.

Early in the struggle the question was not: What will it cost? but, Can the Government be saved, at any cost? The patient was very ill! Commendable and essential economy was forced to disappear from the grasp of the people.

The life of the patient was saved, but the doctor's bill has not yet been paid! Moreover, it will never be practicable to extend adequate compensation for the services and attendant sufferings of the soldiers who have made it possible, in the government of 65,000,000 of people, for a President to hold his office and a Congress to enact the necessary laws.

Powerless, however, as the Government then was to overcome the gigantic attack on its life, there was, fortunately, a grand latent power, awaiting for its development only the demand of the National heart, and the regular army to educate it and prepare it for service. After about seven months of preparation that power was manifested under an organization numbering 640,637 officers and enlisted men—the volunteer army of the United States, with its elements of patriotism, wisdom, courage, and moderation.

During its organization Simon Cameron was at the head of the Department of War, and it cannot be denied that he achieved grand and valuable results at a time when his department had to encounter great embarrassments. He has said: "How difficult it was to fill the position of Secretary of War none but myself can ever know. * * * It was a terrible time."

The difficulty was to restrain the volunteers from exceeding the actual force required; and while men were tendered so generously, we were unprepared for the brewing con-

flict and absolutely without the essentials to engage in war—without guns, powder, saltpetre, bullets, and other needed stores.

In the recruitment of that powerful force, and its subsequent great increase, the people made great sacrifices. "The President was led along by the greatness of their self-sacrificing example, and as a child, in a dark night on a rugged way, catches hold of the hand of its father for guidance and support, he clung fast to the hand of the people and moved calmly through the gloom."

MOBILIZATION.

In connection with the mobilization, it must be remembered that January 1, 1861, the authorized army of the United States consisted of two regiments of dragoons, two regiments of cavalry, one regiment of mounted riflemen, four regiments of artillery, and ten regiments of infantry—aggregating, present and absent, 16,402 commissioned officers and enlisted men, inclusive of the general officers and general staff.

April 15 of that year it was officially promulgated by the President that revolutionary combinations existed in certain States, and 75,000 militia, for three months' service, were called to suppress said combinations, and to cause the laws to be duly executed. In addition, all loyal citizens were appealed to, that they might favor, facilitate, and aid the effort to maintain the honor, the integrity, and the existence of our National Union and the perpetuity of our popular government, and to redress wrongs already long enough endured. The President deemed it proper to add that the first service of the forces would, probably, be to repossess the forts, places, and property which had been seized from the Union, and directed that in every event, consistently with the objects he had referred to, care should be taken to avoid any devastation, any destruction

of, or interference with, property, or any disturbance of peaceful citizens in any part of the country.

When the President took this first decided action against the rebellion, the danger threatening the seat of Government will be indicated by the following:

HEADQUARTERS OF THE ARMY,

WASHINGTON, *April 26, 1861.*

GENERAL ORDERS, }
No. 4. }

I. From the known assemblage near this city of numerous hostile bodies of troops, it is evident that an attack upon it may soon be expected. In such an event, to meet and repel the enemy, it is necessary that some plan of harmonious co-operation should be adopted on the part of all the forces, regular or volunteer, present for the defence of the Capital—that is, for the defence of the Government, the peaceful inhabitants of the city, their property, the public buildings and public archives.

II. At the first moment of an attack every regiment, battalion, squadron and independent company will promptly assemble at its established rendezvous (in or out of the public buildings), ready for battle, and wait for orders.

III. The pickets (or advance guards) will stand fast till driven in by overwhelming forces; but it is expected that those stationed to defend bridges—having every advantage of position—will not give way until actually pushed by the bayonet. Such obstinacy on the part of pickets so stationed is absolutely necessary to give time for the troops in the rear to assemble at their places of rendezvous.

IV. All advance guards and pickets driven in will fall back slowly to delay the advance of the enemy as much as possible, before repairing to their proper rendezvous.

V. On the happening of an attack, the troops lodged in the public buildings and in the Navy Yard will remain for their defence, respectively, unless specially ordered elsewhere, with the exceptions that the 7th New York regiment and the Massachusetts regiment will march rapidly towards the President's Square for its defence: and the Rhode Island regiment (in the Department of the Interior), when full, will make a diversion, by detachment, to assist in the defence of the General Post-Office building, if necessary.

WINFIELD SCOTT.

May 3, the President deemed it indispensably necessary to further augment the forces by 42,034 three-year volunteers (39 regiments of infantry and 1 of cavalry), and 22,714 officers and enlisted men, regulars (8 regiments of infantry, 1 of cavalry, and 1 of artillery), thus making the forces, exclusive of the Navy, authorized for the protection of the National Constitution and the preservation of the National Union by the suppression of the insurrectionary combinations then existing, as follows:

Regular army (January 1, 1861),	16,402
Militia (April 15, 1861),	75,000
Regulars and volunteers (May 3, 1861),	64,748
Total,	156,150

The call for militia was more than met; 91,816 men were furnished, and the call for 40 regiments of volunteers was exceeded—71 regiments of infantry, 1 of heavy artillery, and 10 batteries of light artillery were accepted and mustered into service before July 1.

In July the magnitude of the unlawful violence had fully dawned, and it was clearly apparent that the measures authorized for the impartial enforcement of constitutional laws, and for the speedy restoration of peace and order, had failed. Congress assembled and authorized the President to accept 500,000 volunteers, for three years or the war. Subsequently extended latitude, as to the acceptance, was conferred, in that “previous proclamation” was done away with, and the volunteers were authorized to be accepted in such numbers, from any State or States, as in his (the President’s) discretion the public service might require.

January 15, 1862, Edwin M. Stanton became Secretary of War, and through his stimulus the recruitment was so energetically pressed by the people that April 3, 1862, the forces were deemed sufficient to overcome the rebellion. At this time, had

any one said it would require 2,678,697 ~~enlistments~~ from first to last, and an increase of the volunteer forces, in service at one time, to 1,034,064, in order that armed resistance to the Government might be overthrown, the assertion would have been considered as marking insanity. It will be recalled that early in 1861 an officer, with fame now world-wide, urged the calling out of 300,000 men, and more than one person alleged him to be under a visitation of insanity—a subject fit for the institution having for its object “the most humane care and enlightened curative treatment of the insane of the army.” And when Simon Cameron advised that 500,000 men should be raised, the people laughed and thought he was mad.

June 28, the Governors of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, Michigan, Tennessee, Missouri, Indiana, Ohio, Minnesota, Illinois, and Wisconsin—also the President of the Military Board of Kentucky—requested the President to call upon the several States for such number of men as might be required to fill up all organizations in the field and to add to the armies then organized. The request was based on a desire that the recent successes of the Federal armies might be followed by measures which would secure the speedy restoration of the Union, and the belief, in view of the important military movements then in progress, that the time had arrived for prompt and vigorous measures, thus to speedily crush the rebellion. The decisive moment seemed near at hand, and the people were desirous to aid promptly in furnishing all needful * reinforcements to sustain the Government.

The President concurred in the wisdom of the views expressed in the request, and, July 2, called for 300,000 men for three years. This call for volunteers was, August 4, supplemented by one through a draft for 300,000 militia for nine months' service.

January 1, 1863, the volunteer forces numbered 892,728; January 1, 1864, that number had been reduced to 836,101; but on January 1, 1865, it had been increased to 937,441, and on May 1 to 1,034,064.

February 24, 1864, by act of Congress approved that date, the President was authorized, whenever he deemed it necessary during the war, to call for such number of men for the military service of the United States as the public exigencies might require. It established the will of the President as the authority for raising troops, and conferred a delicate and mighty power. That expressed confidence in the President was a sound rebuke to those who, not much more than one year before, had in contemplation to impeach and remove him from office.

From first to last 2,678,967 men were furnished, and organized into 1,668 regiments, 21 battalions and 504 independent companies of infantry; 232 regiments, 9 battalions, and 122 independent companies of cavalry; and 52 regiments, 6 battalions, and 274 companies of artillery.

The constant addition to the forces of new regiments proved a great element of weakness to the armies. As a great evil, it may here be referred to.

Under every call, the first act of Governors of States was to ask for authority to raise new regiments. The desire of the War Department was to secure recruits for old regiments, and thus maintain their organizations. The Secretary of War, in order to a determined stand, secured in December, 1864, the views of the General-in-Chief and army commanders. All were in support of the opinion of the Secretary relative to the necessity of recruits for old regiments, but the pressure of the States caused all, as on former occasions, to yield, and 56 new regiments and 129 new independent companies, under the call of December 18, 1864, were added to the list of organizations in service, in addition to 77 new regiments and 98 companies under

the call of July 18, 1864. All this at a time when the Army of the Potomac, alone, required 80,000 recruits to fill its organizations to the maximum—some 400,000 would have been necessary for all the armies—and when experienced and gallant lieutenant-colonels and other regimental officers, bearing the wounds of many battles, could not receive promotion owing to the depleted state of their commands. The subject was pointedly referred to by the commander of one of the armies as follows:

“The raising of new regiments is a means desired to fill the quota and avoid the draft.

“There is no intention, I suppose, that these new regiments should serve the United States, and their colonels will hardly come into contact with the army. Still, if it be the intention to put these new regiments into the field, where their colonels would have command of older and better regimental commanders, it is a question for the War Department to determine, and not mine. I must take troops as they come to me, and respect the commissions they hold.”

There is a record of the increase, on one occasion, of the army of France from 200,000 to 400,000 in two months' time, and had it been thought proper to inaugurate a vast system of defence, the number, it has been said, could have been raised to 700,000 in four months—this under the influence of extraordinary expedients; and the exertion was considered an evidence of the great energy and genius of Napoleon, as well as the military spirit of the French nation.

Marvellous results have been achieved by the United States as exemplified by what has been recorded in the foregoing, in connection with the following summary:

In $2\frac{1}{2}$ months in 1861 we find an average of almost 100,000 men per month placed in service; and during five months the average was 94,061—this without the aid of extraordinary expedients and in the face of great difficulties in army clothing, and equipping.

At this early period of the war the difficulties in arming,

clothing, and equipping were so great that the services of thousands were declined. Could arms, clothing, and equipage have been secured, it is safe to say that 1,000,000 of men could have been placed in service within five months.

Lincoln's adopted State, Illinois, under the calls of July 2, and August 4, 1862, placed in service 58,689 men. Of that number over 50,000—from the farmers and mechanics of the State—were furnished within eleven days.

“Animated by a common purpose, and firmly resolved on rescuing the Government, * * * (they) left their harvests ungathered, their tools on their benches, the plows in the furrows;” thus making a proud record, without a parallel in the history of the war.

Under the calls of July 2, and August 4, 1862, there were, prior to November 21, of that year, sent into the field :

289 regiments of infantry for 3 years;
 58 regiments of infantry for 9 months;
 34 batteries of artillery for 3 years;
 42 companies of cavalry for 3 years; and
 36 companies of cavalry for 9 months.

Also 50,000 recruits for old three-years regiments—a grand aggregate of 370,349 men; an average of about 82,211 per month.

Under the proposition (accepted by the President April 23, 1864) of the Governors of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, and Wisconsin, to furnish 85,000 one-hundred-day troops, the Governor of Stanton's native State, Ohio, in response to the War Department call of May 1, ordered the contribution of the State to rendezvous in the various counties, at the most eligible places, on the second day of May. Seven and one-half o'clock P. M., the same date, reports recited 38,000 men in camp. In twelve days 36,254 men were organized into 41

regiments and 1 battalion, mustered, clothed, armed, equipped, and ready for transportation to the field. On May 24, 22 days from the date of rendezvous, the 42 regiments embracing the force were in active service.

Here it will be of interest to remember that from April 15, 1861, to April 28, 1865, a period of about 48 consecutive months, there was supplied a monthly average, for the Union and Confederate armies, of 75,000 men—a large army in itself. Considering the increase in the population of the United States since the rebellion, a sound and instructive deduction can be made relative to the present military power of our now united country.

DISBANDMENT.

The orders for musters-out, issued on and subsequent to April 29, 1865, brought gladness to many hearts, and the gallant men who had, after a vast sacrifice of life and health, caused peace to dawn, were anxious to pass from the army to civil life, which they did "so quietly that it was scarcely known save by the welcome to their homes."

The soldiers and the people were tired of war. For with truth has it been said that "in six hundred and twenty-five battles and severe skirmishes blood flowed like water. It streamed over the grassy plains; it stained the rocks; the undergrowth of the forest was red with it; and the armies marched on with majestic courage from one conflict to another, knowing that they were fighting for GOD and Liberty."

I cannot think of that terrific struggle, a battle in which Lincoln was, for four long years, the Commander-in-Chief, without attaching to it the historic words used in connection with Waterloo, that culmination which terminated a period of unrestful and destructive energy — "a period throughout which the wealth of nations was scattered like sand, and the blood of nations lavished like water:"

“A battle fought for the interests of the human race, felt even, where they were not understood; so that the tutelary angel of man, when he traverses such a dreadful field, when he reads the distorted features, counts the ghastly ruins, sums the hidden anguish in the harvests

‘of horror breathing from the silent ground,’

nevertheless, speaking as God’s messenger, ‘blesses it and calls it very good.’”

The rapidity with which the work of disbandment was executed will be apparent from the fact that, to August 7, 640,806 troops had been mustered out; August 22, 719,338; September 14, 741,107; October 15, 785,205; November 15, 800,963; January 20, 1866, 918,733; February 15, 952,452; March 10, 967,887; May 1, 986,782; June 30, 1,010,670; November 1, 1,023,021—leaving then in service 11,043 volunteers, colored and white.

The command of Sherman (Army of the Tennessee and Army of Georgia) and the Army of the Potomac, were the first to complete their musters-out entirely. Regiments commenced leaving Sherman’s command, then numbering, present and absent, 116,183 officers and men, from the rendezvous, near Washington, on May 29, and on August 1 the last one of the regiments mustered out left Louisville, Kentucky, to which point the command (after the musters-out therefrom were partly completed) was transferred, and the armies composing it merged into one—the Army of the Tennessee. The work of mustering out the troops was not continuous—it was interrupted and delayed by the transfer of the two armies from Washington to Louisville, and their subsequent consolidation.

Regiments commenced leaving the Army of the Potomac numbering, including the 9th Corps, 161,851 officers and men,

present and absent) from the rendezvous, near Washington, on May 29, and about six weeks thereafter (July 19) the last regiment started for home. During the interval the work, like that of Sherman's command, was not continuous. It was interrupted and delayed by the movement of the 6th Corps from Danville, Virginia, to Washington, and the consolidation, by orders of June 28, of the remaining portion of the army into a provisional corps, numbering, present and absent, 22,699 officers and men.

Thus, for the two commands in question, and between May 29 and August 1 (two months), 279,034 officers and men, present and absent, were mustered out and placed en route to their homes.

Including the other armies and departments, the number was increased by August 7 (two months and seven days) to 640,806 officers and men.

Had it been possible to spare all the volunteers, the entire number, 1,034,064, could easily have been disbanded and returned to their homes within three months from the date (May 29, 1865) the movement homeward commenced.

In Macaulay's England we find the following relative to the disbandment of Cromwell's army :

“ The troops were now to be disbanded. Fifty thousand men accustomed to the profession of arms were at once thrown on the world; and experience seemed to warrant the belief that this change would produce much misery and crime, that the discharged veterans would be seen begging in every street, or would be driven by hunger to pillage. But no such result followed. In a few months there remained not a trace indicating that the most formidable army in the world had just been absorbed into the mass of the community. The royalists themselves confessed that in every department of honest industry the discharged warriors prospered beyond other men, and that none was charged with any theft or robbery, that none was heard to ask an alms, and that if a baker, a mason, or a wagoner attracted notice by his diligence and sobriety, he was in all probability one of Oliver's old soldiers.”

A greater eulogy was won by the magnificent volunteer army of the United States, aggregating more than 1,000,000 men—a force more than twenty times the size of that referred to by the English historian.

When the time for disbandment had arrived, Governors of States and other distinguished men—all having deeply at heart the good of the country—were apprehensive that so great a force suddenly released from military restraint and employment would create disturbance throughout the country. The Secretary of War was requested to provide troops to maintain order. He did not view the fears of others as well founded, and made reply, in substance, that if we could not trust the soldiers who had subdued the rebellion, we might as well yield the life of the republic. He acted in accordance with his views, and beyond sending troops to take care of the depots wherein was stored the public property, turned over by the volunteers to the respective supply departments, precautions against disturbance were not taken.

MOVEMENTS OF TROOPS LONG DISTANCES WITHIN SHORT PERIODS OF TIME.

1. The transfer in 1863, by rail, of the 12th Army Corps, the command aggregating 23,000 men—accompanied by its artillery, trains, animals, and baggage—from the Rapidan, in Virginia, to Stevenson, in Alabama, a distance of 1,192 miles in seven days, crossing the Ohio river twice.

2. The transfer of the 23d Army Corps, 15,000 strong, with its artillery, trains, animals, and baggage, from Clifton, Tennessee, via the Tennessee and Ohio rivers and the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, to the Potomac, in eleven days—distance 1,400 miles. This movement commenced January 15, 1865, within five days after the movement had been determined upon in Washington. It was continued, by water, to North Carolina,

where, early in February, Wilmington was captured. March 22, when the right wing of Sherman's army reached Goldsboro, it found there the corps, which a short time prior had been encamped on the Tennessee.

The movement was much impeded by severe weather—rivers were blocked with ice, and railroads rendered hazardous by frost and snow.

3. The transfer, by water, of the 16th Army Corps from Eastport, Tennessee, to New Orleans. The entire command, including a brigade of artillery and a division of cavalry, consisted of 17,314 men, 1,038 horses, 2,731 mules, 351 wagons, and 83 ambulances. Three days were required to embark it on 40 steamers. The fleet sailed February 9, 1865, and the command arrived at New Orleans February 23—a distance of 1,330 miles in 13 days.

4. The transfer, by sea, from City Point, Virginia, to Texas, of the 25th Army Corps, 25,000 strong, with its artillery, ammunition, ambulances, wagons, harness, subsistence, and 2,000 horses and mules.

The embarkation took place between May 26 and June 17, 1865, and the debarkation, at Brazos Santiago, between June 13 and 26. The movement required a fleet of 57 ocean steamers; entire tonnage, 56,987 tons. All of the vessels were provided for a 12 days' voyage; 947 tons of coal and 50,000 gallons of water were consumed daily.

While this expedition was afloat, other movements by sea, in steam transports, aggregated more than 10,000 men, inclusive of 3,000 Confederate prisoners sent from Point Lookout to Mobile. Therefore there were more than 35,000 troops and prisoners afloat on the ocean at the same time.

5. From November 1, 1863, to October 31, 1864—one year—626,126 men were forwarded to the field, and 268,114 were returned to their homes on furlough and for discharge;

making the aggregate of the movements 887,240—embracing independently of recruits 495 regiments and 119 batteries and companies. The following year the aggregate was 1,064,080, distributed to 1,126 regiments, 241 batteries, and 369 companies.

SUPPLYING THE ARMIES.

The army of Sherman, embracing 100,000 men and 60,000 animals, was furnished with supplies from a base three hundred and sixty (360) miles distant, by one single-track railroad, located mainly in the country of an active enemy. The effort taxed and measured forethought, energy, patience, and watchfulness, and is a most instructive lesson. The line was maintained for months, until Atlanta was secured, and supplies for a new campaign had been placed there.

The army then moved southeast, through Georgia, accompanied by thousands of beef cattle, and trains embracing 3,000 wagons filled with war supplies and material.

After the capture of Savannah, the command was promptly met at that place by a great fleet, conveying clothing, tentage, subsistence for soldiers and animals, wagons, harness, ammunition, and all else necessary for the march or in camp.

The necessary supplies were again in readiness at Kinston and Goldsboro, through the agency of railroads constructed to those places from Wilmington and Morehead City, each of the two roads being 95 miles in length.

While the foregoing was being accomplished, other larger armies in the east and west were as promptly and energetically supplied in all their wants.

During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1865, the demands for water transportation alone required a fleet of 719 vessels (351 steamers, 111 steam tugs, 89 sail vessels, 168 barges).

MILITARY RAILROADS.

The President, by the act of January 1, 1862 (General Order No. 10, Adjutant-General's Office of that year), was authorized to take military possession of all the railroads in the United States; but it was not found necessary to exercise the authority over any of the roads outside the limits of the insurgent States.

“The military railroad organization (under a director and general manager—funds for its support being supplied by the Quartermaster's Department) was designed to be a great construction and transportation machine for carrying out the objects of the commanding generals, so far as it was adapted to the purpose, and it was managed solely with a view to efficacy in that direction. It was the duty of the Quartermaster's Department to load all the material upon the cars, to direct where such material should be taken, and to whom delivered. It then became the province of the railroad department to comply with said order in the shortest practicable time, and to perfect such arrangements as would enable it to keep the lines in repair under any and all circumstances.”

Among the wonders connected with military railroad construction were :

The Chattahoochee bridge, seven hundred and eighty (780) feet long and ninety-two (92) feet high, which was completely built in $4\frac{1}{2}$ days by 600 men.

The Etowah bridge, six hundred and twenty-five (625) feet long, seventy-five (75) feet high, was burned, and rebuilt by the labor of six hundred (600) men of the construction corps in six (6) days.

In October, 1864, Hood's army reached the rear of Sherman's forces, first at Big Shanty, afterwards north of Resaca, destroying, in the aggregate, $35\frac{1}{2}$ miles of track and 455 lineal feet of bridges; 25 miles of track and 230 feet of bridges were reconstructed and trains were run over the distance in $7\frac{1}{2}$ days. In 13

days after Hood left the line trains were running over the entire length.

Numerous other wonderful efforts are of record, but the foregoing are sufficient to illustrate the speed with which the construction corps operated. Commanders had such confidence in it that, in advancing, they were confident that the railroads in their rear would not fail to meet the wants of their commands. This confidence was most important in connection with lines of operations lengthened in depth, and resulted from the knowledge that "none of the humanly possible precautions for basing" an army had been neglected.

OTHER LOGISTICAL MEASURES—INDICATING THE SCIENCE OF THE STAFF.

The Adjutant-General's Department and the Bureau of the Provost Marshal-General had to do with *supplying men* for the armies; the results, in part, involving the personnel, have been made apparent from what has been recited. The former, in addition, was charged, during the entire war, with the organization and disbandment of the forces.

The recruitment of white volunteers was under the exclusive control of the Adjutant-General's Department from the first call for troops until May, 1863, when it was placed under the Provost Marshal-General, to whom, by law, was confided the enrollment and draft, and thereby the entire recruiting service for *white* troops was placed under one head, and a great reduction made in the expenses of recruitment, through the more rigid control secured by the enrollment act.

The Adjutant-General's Department had charge of the recruitment of colored troops and the re-enlistment of the veteran volunteers in the field. The plan for the recruitment of the 126,000 veterans, who received the thanks of Congress, was devised and prepared by the Provost Marshal-General, and rela-

tive thereto Stanton has said: "I know of no operation connected with the recruitment of the army which has resulted in more advantage to the service than the one referred to."

The departments of the Adjutant-General and Provost Marshal-General recruited, respectively, 1,515,264 and 1,120,621 men.

The want of a carefully organized inspection department was felt during the war. Yet, so far as the personnel for inspection service extended, it fully performed its various important duties.

Involving the material, through the supply departments, we find that, during the whole war, there was no failure of operations through lack of transportation or the supplies required of the Quartermaster's Department. Its vast and varied stores had not only to be ready at numerous and widely extended points, when needed, but it had to transport to all points, there to be in readiness at the proper time, the extensive quantities of provisions, medical and hospital stores, arms and ammunition provided by the other supply departments.

The Army mule, for the purposes of the *draft*, behaved nobly, and bore the conscription without being able to express a desire to furnish a substitute. On his roll of honor we find 450,000 serving in the various armies. Six hundred and fifty thousand (650,000) horses joined the ranks; and the third year of the war the field armies required for the cavalry, artillery, and trains one-half as many animals as there were soldiers.

As the mules and horses had, as a general thing, to labor away from water and rail lines, they gave but little attention to the mechanical manœuvres of 719 steam and sail vessels in service at one time during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1865, and the 419 engines and 6,330 cars employed during the war.

The soldier necessarily preferred the mail for his correspondence; he did not confine himself to a *single* line, and, as a result, the 1,000,000,000 telegrams transmitted by the military telegraph were mostly on official business.

Good and wholesome rations were uniformly supplied by the Subsistence Department, and there was not a campaign, expedition, or movement that failed on account of the inability of the department to meet all proper requirements. It is true that, generally, the bread was rather *hard*, yet, nevertheless, it was *tackled* and freely consumed.

The Medical Department made ample provisions for the sick and wounded from the first. Aside from the vast accommodations elsewhere, Sherman's army found at Savannah four first-class sea steamers, complete in all respects as hospital transports, with extra supplies for 5,000 beds, had it been necessary to establish large hospitals on his line of operations. Complaint was never made as to a shortage of medicine; generally it was found that the supply exceeded any demand based on the soldiers' taste.

The Government had an abundance of money wherewith to meet its sacred obligations, and the Pay Department kept its pledge "to make prompt payments in the shortest practicable time."

When the war commenced the Government was forced to obtain from foreign countries almost the entire supply of arms and ammunition, but in 1863 the Ordnance Department became independent through home resources, both for the manufactured articles and the material composing them.

Aside from contributing to the command of armies, the officers of the Corps of Engineers were charged with important labors in connection with the defences of Washington and other places, the reconnaissance of positions held by the enemy, the investment of cities and towns, the fortifying of important points on railroads, the construction of offensive and defensive fortifications necessary to the march of large armies, the manœuvring of pontoon trains, surveys for the armies in the field, and the sea-coast and lake defences.

The ability and efficiency of its officers were notably illustrated in the construction of the pontoon bridge (exclusive of 200 feet of trestle-work) over 2,000 feet long—the main part in deep water, in some places 85 feet—across the James river above Fort Powhatan, by 450 men in five hours, between 5 and 10 o'clock P. M. June 15, 1864. Over this single frail structure passed—mainly in forty hours—the army, about 100,000 men under Grant, with cavalry, artillery and infantry, and trains embracing about 5,000 wagons, besides 3,000 beef cattle, without an accident to an individual, man or animal. This movement, one of the most important on record, took place during the fifth epoch of the grand campaign, from the Rapidan to the James, which opened May 4, 1864.

The passage, in all its attending circumstances, may well stand forth brilliantly. If it does not surpass, it will compare favorably with the passage of the Danube, before Wagram, by 150,000 of Napoleon's forces, through the agency of three bridges—in all 1,360 feet—thrown over an arm of that river 140 yards wide.

The Signal Service was particularly valuable in observing and reporting the changes and movements of the enemy, and connecting the army and navy when employed in combined operations, thus enabling the two branches of the service to act as a unit. Oftentimes the services were of vital importance by furnishing information that could not have been had otherwise, notably as referred to by Sherman, as follows:

“When the enemy had cut our wires and actually made lodgment on our railroad about Big Shanty, the signal officers on Vining's Hill, Kenesaw, and Altoona sent my orders to General Corse, at Rome, whereby General Corse was enabled to reach Altoona just in time to defend it. Had it not been for the services of this corps on that occasion, I am satisfied we should have lost the garrison at Altoona, and a most valuable depository of provisions there, which was worth to us more than the aggregate expense of the whole signal corps for one year.”

Again, the late Brigadier-General Myer, as Chief Signal Officer, has said :

“ The officers of the Signal Corps opened the first direct communication from the Upper to the Lower Mississippi, when Rear-Admiral Farragut, running past the batteries of Port Hudson, found himself, after the perilous passage, cut off above that fortress from the vessels of his fleet, which could not follow him and were lying in the stream below.

“ There is not, perhaps, on record a feat of aerial telegraphy such as that thus and then performed, when from the topmast of the flag-ship of the Admiral, lying above the fort, messages were regularly transmitted past the guns of the fortress to a station on the mast-top of the war vessel Richmond, five or six miles below.”

STANTON.

It has been said that Stanton dominated the President to the extent of disregarding orders and instructions. While he ever readily considered Stanton’s advice, I had frequent opportunities of observing that the President was the controlling power—the master, as was his wont to say. I well remember an order given at one time which the Secretary deemed based upon misconception. I was instructed to take the case to the President and invite his consideration to its prominent points. On reaching the Executive Mansion I found the President in the reception-room, surrounded by a large number of persons. He immediately recognized me, stepped forward and conducted me into the most retired corner of the room. After I had stated the object of my visit, he said: Stanton is careful and may be right. I was very busy when I examined the case, but I will take the papers, re-examine, and by four o’clock this afternoon send them by messenger to your office. Before the hour indicated, the papers were in my hands. The President had revoked his order and affirmed the decision of the Secretary. The case is illustrative of the official relations between the two great men.

It will be pertinent here to recall the episode connected with the Sherman-Johnson convention, of April 18, 1865.

Prior to that convention, or agreement, President Lincoln said—April 3—to General Grant that he did not wish any conference with General Lee unless it should be for “the capitulation of Lee’s army, or on solely minor or purely military matters,” and that he was not to “decide, discuss, or confer on any political question,” as such questions were held in the President’s own hands.

Upon the receipt (April 21) by Grant of the Convention, and prior to his submitting it to President Johnson with a suggestion that it should be considered by the entire Cabinet, he felt satisfied that the President would not approve, and when he (April 21) disapproved, the reasons were given by Stanton, as the representative of the Executive, in the telegram to General Dix.

After the disapproval became known to Sherman he, in writing to Stanton, on April 25, said: “I admit my folly in embracing in a military convention any civic matters.”

We all know that Sherman was embittered as to Stanton, and that many of his friends were equally so; but among his very best friends were found men of the highest eminence who, through emphatic letters to Stanton, condemned the convention, and supported the announcement to the country as made through the Dix telegram.

The allegation that Stanton’s death was the result of a self-inflicted wound is refuted abundantly by the letter from Surgeon General Barnes, dated April 16, 1879, to the editor of the *Philadelphia Press*; but I may here state that after Stanton’s death I often saw his body, and frequently was very near it, and I remained at the house for the main portion of the night preceding the interment of the remains; consequently I was in a position to have noticed self-inflicted injury, had there been any.

To a private soldier I have known him to give audience when his leisure was so pressed as to cause an interview with officers of high rank to be refused, and yet the warmth of his heart, as attested by the War Department records, was found going out at all times, through measures calculated to enhance the comfort and protect the interests of the members—officers and men—of the armies of the Union.

His devotion to the public welfare was such as to find him at his desk, not only during the day, but at night, until near the dawn—not satisfied to go to his home for needed rest until the most that could be had been accomplished. And when really ill, during many nights of prolonged labor, a devoted and entreating wife, who had come in the hours of morning to accompany him from his office, often failed to break the vigil devoted to the public interest.

Often, at midnight, I have found myself with important papers before him for consideration, the labors of the day having so pressed him as to prevent his necessary action during the usual hours of duty; and on more than one occasion did he fall asleep before I had finished, so great was his fatigue.

The great strain eventually did its work, and at times he had, from illness, to remain at his house. On one of these occasions his old-time friend, Governor Brough, of Ohio, telegraphed to me to know Mr. Stanton's condition. I went to his house, and, after reading the telegram, he said he would answer it himself, and attempted to do so; but his great strength had so far weakened that he could not wield the pen, and, with tremulous voice and tearful eyes, he bade me make the necessary reply.

Endowed with greatness of intellect, coupled with superhuman energy and industry, he was eminently gifted in dispatching public affairs. While strictly honest, he was so blindly devoted to the cause of the Union, and so rigid in

the view that self-preservation was paramount to all other considerations, that before him justice, at times, *seemed* powerless, and personal rights passed for trifles.

As to the trials of his high position, we have his own fervent words in a letter to a friend, in May, 1862, as follows:

“ I hold my present post at the request of the President, who knew me personally, but to whom I had not spoken from the 4th of March, 1861, until the day he handed me my commission. I knew that everything I cherish and hold dear would be sacrificed by accepting office. But I thought I might help to save the country, and for that I was willing to perish. If I wanted to be a politician or a candidate for any office, would I stand between the Treasury and the robbers who are howling around me? ”

* * * * *

“ I was never taken for a fool, but there could be no greater madness than for a man to encounter what I do for anything else than motives that overleap time and look forward to eternity. ”

* * * * *

“ The confidence of yourself and men like you is a full equivalent for all the railing that has been or can be expended against me; and in the magnitude of the cause all merely individual questions are swallowed up.”

I believe that the public vision has had removed from it the mote which, for a time, caused certain elements of his character to stand not approved. But, passing that, he certainly stood well forward as to “ that impersonal life which is the fullest definition, as well as the truest test, alike of goodness and greatness,” and his great ability and the force of his will made him eminently successful in the high office of War Minister when treason and rebellion were abroad. It has been well said that his training as an advocate so strengthened his devotion to a cause when adopted that, even if he had not loved the cause of the Union, he would have labored for it intensely because he was retained in it. With his qualifications and the delegation of almost unbounded military authority, he was the right arm of the Executive of the Nation “ in smiting treason and rebellion and re-establishing the foundation of the Government.”

Cameron said of Stanton in June, 1878: "He was a great, big, brave, loyal man; perhaps too harsh and quick-tempered in his treatment of those around him, but, nevertheless, a thoroughly good and well-meaning man. He had terrible responsibilities, which at times caused him to be exacting almost to the very verge of injustice, but I am sure that he always intended to do right, and there is no doubt he was in every way the man best fitted for the place in the Government which he was called upon to fill. He was a man of wonderful strength, not only of mind but of body, yet even he gave way under the constant, the never-ending strain which was put upon all his faculties. His death was hastened by, if not the direct result of, overwork in the War Department."

Sherman said in February, 1876: "I have the highest opinion of Stanton's administrative qualities, and freely accord him all honor for marshalling to the defence of the Nation its maximum strength."

Had Stanton been spared to enjoy the full fruition resulting from his great labors, I believe that Sherman, through an impulse natural to his magnanimity, would have admitted more than his folly in embracing civic matters in the military convention.

It is true that, at times, "The lover and the hero reason not. * * * But they believe in what they love and do."

Stanton and Sherman were heroes, and devoted lovers of their country and its glorious flag! Stanton, at times, reasoned not, else the sharp words adverse to Sherman, as uttered at the Cabinet meeting during the consideration of the terms of the convention, would not have passed his lips. Sherman would have recognized that fact, and, through a union of his and Stanton's love of country, there would have resulted a full reconciliation of their regretted differences. The mote would have been entirely removed from Sherman's eye, and his cheeks would have been wetted with Stanton's joyful tear.

Stanton's genius as a ruler and organizer, and ability to reach grand results with vigor and masterly skill, are found in the public archives, durably recorded.

LINCOLN.

It was a frequent thing for the President to visit my office, thus to obtain direct information. He was particularly interested in the success of the recruitment, and for his own convenience he personally tabulated the daily telegraphic reports on a slip of paper. After he had made the necessary record, he would roll the slip around a short lead-pencil and place it in his vest-pocket, from which he would take it during the ensuing visit. If the number of men obtained was satisfactory he would sit for a brief time, conversing brightly; but if otherwise, the enlarged furrows of care on his face would indicate the sadness of his disappointment, and, without a word, he would depart.

These interviews indicated his sublime simplicity of character; but, withal, there was ever with him the marked dignity of a noble manhood.

Soon after the act of July 17, 1862, authorizing persons of African descent to be received into the service of the United States, and before the President had decided fully what he would do under it, but at a date when the good results that would follow the enactment were obvious to him, he received an application—it may have been from a Mr. Black or a Mr. Brown—to raise a regiment. In his characteristic way he endorsed the application: “Referred to the Secretary of War. This gentleman wishes to engage in the ebony trade. A. Lincoln.”

His interest manifested in the recruitment of colored troops is apparent from his letter, dated April 1, 1863, to Major-General Hunter, in which he said:

“I am glad to see the account of your colored force at Jack-

sonville, Florida. I see the enemy are driving at them fiercely, as is to be expected.

"It is important to the enemy that such a force shall *not* take shape, and grow and thrive in the South; and, in precisely the same proportion, it is important to us that it *shall*. Hence the utmost caution and vigilance is necessary on our part. The enemy will make extra efforts to destroy them; and we should do the same to preserve and increase them."

After the colored troops had won their reputation—when it was recognized that their colors were guarded with as much patriotic care as though talismanic virtues clustered around them—he said that their employment was one of the greatest blows dealt to the rebellion, and, in hoping that peace would soon be permanent, added: "Then will there be some black men who can remember that they have helped to this great consummation." Commencing with Milliken's Bend, June 7, 1863, General Grant frequently complimented the colored troops, much to the President's gratification.

The President, on one occasion, in defining the franchise, said that some of the colored people "might be let in; * * * "they would probably help, in some trying time to come, to keep the jewel of liberty in the family of freedom."

In the humble cabin with its three-legged stool; bedstead of poles, supported by crotched sticks; log table; pot, kettle and skillet, and a few tin and pewter dishes, his boyhood's ascent in life began as he "climbed at night to his bed of leaves in the loft, by a ladder of wooden pegs driven into the logs." In latter years his ascent was onward and upward, by the ladder of fame, gaining at each round the esteem and honor of his countrymen.

It could not have been otherwise, when we consider his eminent endowment with the gifts and virtues of charity, humility, meekness, patience, diligence, wisdom, prudence, justice, and fortitude.

The beautiful devotion of the son to the memory of his mother, through the services over her grave several months

after her interment, has pointed to Lincoln's "faith in the unseen, hope in immortality, and love of the beauty of holiness."

Hallam, when writting of Charlemagne, and the epoch made by that great emperor in the history of the world, by advancing civilization and regenerating Western Europe, used words which may be applied to Lincoln: "His sceptre was as the bow of Ulysses, which could not be drawn by a weaker hand. He stood alone, like a beacon upon a waste, or a rock in the broad ocean. His deeds have cast a lustre around his head and testify the greatness that has embodied itself in his name."

THE CLOSING HOURS.

April 14, 1865, I had, about ten o'clock P. M., returned from the War Department to my house, and very soon thereafter was informed by a cousin of Mrs. Lincoln—Dr. Lyman Beecher Todd, of Lexington, Kentucky—that the President had been assassinated, and the members of his Cabinet attacked. I at once hurried to the house of the Secretary of War, and there found the family greatly alarmed and excited; but the Secretary, just prior to my arrival, had started for Mr. Seward's residence. I followed, and there learned that he had gone to the scene of the tragedy, on 10th street; on reaching the locality I found him at the house to which the President had been taken from Ford's Theatre. I remained there, near the Secretary, and at his request, during the night. He was greatly saddened, and referred to the change of scene from that at the Cabinet meeting, a few hours before, at which General Grant was present, when the state of the country and the prospect of a speedy peace were discussed. He stated that the President during the meeting was hopeful and very cheerful, and had spoken kindly of General Lee and other officers of the Confederacy. Particularly had his kindly feelings gone out to the enlisted men of the Confederacy, and during the

entire session of the Cabinet his manner and words manifested, emphatically, a desire to restore a satisfactory peace to the South, through all due regard for her vanquished citizens. Yet, whilst he was buoyant, on that Good Friday, in his advocacy of "Peace on earth to men of good will," he seemed depressed, at times, in consequence of his dream of the previous night, which had recurred several times on the eve of some important event—"a vague sense of floating—floating away, on some vast and indistinct expanse, toward an unknown shore!"

About 1.30 A. M. it was determined that the wound was mortal, that the President was then dying, and that it was not probable that he would live through the night. The Secretary then informed me that it would be necessary to stand prepared to communicate the President's death to the Vice-President, and soon thereafter handed me the rough draft of the formal notification, from which I prepared a fair copy, and held it until after the President's death, which was officially announced at 7.55 A. M., April 15, by a telegram from the Secretary to Major-General Dix, as follows:

"Abraham Lincoln died this morning at twenty-two minutes after seven o'clock."

The notification to the Vice-President was duly signed and communicated, as recited in a subsequent telegram, as follows:

"Official notice of the death of the late President, Abraham Lincoln, was given by the heads of Departments this morning to Andrew Johnson, Vice-President, upon whom the Constitution devolved the office of President. Mr. Johnson, upon receiving this notice, appeared before the Honorable Salmon P. Chase, Chief Justice of the United States, and took the oath of office as President of the United States, and assumed its duties and functions."

The death-bed scenes were harrowing in the extreme. Surrounding and near the illustrious one, who was insensible from

the first in consequence of his mortal wound, from which his life's blood was oozing, were the sobbing, grief-stricken wife, all the members of the Cabinet save Mr. Seward, and others in civil and military circles. As the sure approach of death was noticed, the deep sad gloom increased, and, at the solemn moment, it seemed that it had extended to Heaven to be from there promulgated back to earth through the agency of deep sable clouds. The attendant drops of rain seemed to have been sent to mingle, sorrowfully, with the tears of the Nation.

Soon after eight o'clock the devoted War Minister had ordered all to be arranged for the removal of the body to the Executive Mansion, and then left me, as his representative, until after the transfer should take place. It was about this time that, after pressing and smoothing the eyes of the dead President, I placed coins on them to close them for a last long slumber.

"Softly heroic the life had been all through;" and he who had loved and served his country so well was, at the final instant, sealed for preservation in that repository of abundance—the love of his countrymen.

To quote again from Bancroft's fitting words :

"Where in the history of nations had a chief magistrate possessed more sources of consolation and joy than Lincoln? His countrymen had shown their love by choosing him to a second term of service. The raging war that had divided the country had lulled, and private grief was hushed by the grandeur of the result. The Nation had its new birth of freedom, soon to be secured forever by an amendment to the Constitution. His persistent gentleness had conquered for him a kindlier feeling on the part of the South. His scoffers among the grandees of Europe began to do him honor. The laboring classes everywhere saw in his advancement their own. All peoples sent him their benedictions. And at this moment of the height of his fame, to which his humility and modesty added charms, he fell by the hand of an assassin; and the only triumph awarded him was the march to the grave. * * * Not in vain has LINCOLN lived, for he has helped to make this republic an example of justice, with no caste but the caste of humanity. * * * The heroes who led our armies and ships into battle and fell in the

service * * * did not die in vain ; they, and the myriads of nameless martyrs, and he, the chief martyr, gave up their lives willingly 'that government of the people, by the people, and for the people shall not perish from the earth.' ” .

Commander and Companions, may I not, in closing, borrow other well-known words as fittingly applicable to our beloved Chief Martyr :

“ He spoke among you, and the man who spoke ;
Who never sold the truth to serve the hour,
Nor paltered with Eternal God for power ;

* * * * *

Great in council and great in war, * * *
Rich in saving common sense,
And, as the greatest only are,
In his simplicity subli^me, * * *
Whose life was work, whose language rise
With rugged maxims hewn from life ;
Who never spoke against a foe ; ” * * *

To him :

“ The path of duty was the way to glory ;
He that walks it, only thirsting
For the right, and learns to deaden
Love of self, before his journey closes,
He shall find the stubborn thistle bursting
Into glossy purples, which outredden
All voluptuous garden roses. * * *

Let his great example stand
Colossal, seen of every land,
And keep the soldier firm, the statesman pure :
Till in all lands, and through all human story
The path of duty be the way to glory ;
And let the land whose hearths he saved from shame,
For many and many an age,
At civic revel, and pomp, and game,
Attest their great Commander's claim, * * *
With honor, honor, honor, honor to him,
Eternal honor to his name.” * * *

Yea !

“ Let the sound of those he wrought for,
And the feet of those he fought for,
Echo round his bones for evermore.”



